UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Intransigeants

By CHARLES F. DOLE

Quo Vandimus

By PAUL H. GRIMMANN

An American Bishop on Gandhi

By CHARLES W. WOOD

VOLUME XCIII NUMBER 6

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII | THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1924 | NUMBER 6

THE MESSAGE OF EASTER.

We men, the children of dust
Rise out of the dust to the light;
We, born of the brute, and bred in the hovels of fear,
Wonted to look towards unescapable death,
Dare as immortals to cherish a marvelous hope—
Presume to call ourselves sons and daughters of God!

* * *

How should the eyes of the children of dust brighten with hope?
How should men break from the bonds of the grub and the worm
To boast themselves offspring of God?
Did one live long agone, not a mere man,
No child of the dust, but surely born out of high heaven,
Not bred as other men were in the shadows of fear,
Not doomed to sin and hate and revenge,
But born unafraid, in pure love,
Born to do good and nothing but good all the days of his life,
Yes! Foreordained to the life of the stars and of infinite light,
Whom death could not kill,—did he,
Oh! unsearchable wonder! bring a secret power
To life out of the mire uncountable hosts of mankind?
Did he, first of high-born beings, esteem them as brothers, and care
Enough for them to suffer a mortal's direst distress for their sake,
And go down, as men must, to the murky gates of the grave?
Does God love, then, like this and care so much for his creatures?

* * *

So ran the beautiful story that each Easter illumines the earth!
It has rolled back the clouds of woe and of gloom
And filled the eyes of the dying with joy.
Hear yet a more beautiful message, not of one man alone,
But also of many, not of long ago, but of now,
Of men and women, the dear children of love,
And courage, and hope high as the heavens,
Who walk the common roads of the earth.
They have loved, not in vain, and been patient, and smiled with pure mirth,
Put away fear and scorned hate and held their faith in the right.
We have known them and often looked in their faces;
We have seen nothing less than the light of God in their eyes.
Are they not children of God, heirs of an infinite life,
Who move in tune with the one beneficent will,
At peace in their hearts, in peace with all souls,
Akin to the love above all love, out of which
Springs order and purpose and thought,
Fitted and eager to carry the tidings of goodness,
Wherever immortal goodness endures!

* * *

These are not children of dust; they are children of light.
What can death do? How can death harm them?
Their message goes further; Lo! God is here and in them!
The far-running purpose goes out to all the children of men—
Not a story of one supreme superman, or one select Brahmin caste of the "saints";
It goes to the grim hovels of fear to drive fear away,
It steals into the ears of the minions of war and silences hate,
Till slaves, raised to freedom, lay down their arms, once for all;
It sings a new song in many a shop and fills busy marts with its music;
It makes solid friendship wherever men labor, till
No mean man desires more than his share of the God-given wealth of mankind;
Lo! The deathless word travels like light: it shall shine and never shall cease.
The voices of strong men, the leaders, lovers of truth, and mature,
Risen out of the ranks of mankind, of many a language and race,
Shall proclaim that the true is the good, and beauty is truth,
And truth is eternal, and truth is forever incarnate in life;
Where true lovers are, truth and beauty are one;
Lo! In a myriad homes, dwell the children of love, love's light in their eyes.
Where love is, there God is, where God is, everlasting life must abide.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

The evidence which is being presented at Washington in the various investigations will be accepted by a great many credulous people without any question whatsoever. It is easy to believe what we see in print. Large numbers of people are perfectly willing to believe the worst that is charged against their fellowmen. The incredulous will believe nothing. The whole investigation is to them a political frame-up. The truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. It would be very difficult for the average citizen to analyze this vast amount of hearsay, talk, gossip and credible evidence; and yet it is just this task which is placed before us. If we, without reflection or judgment, believe all that is charged, we will be very liable to swing to the other extreme at the first opportunity. But it is more important just now for people to keep their heads. All men in Washington are not grafters and liars; all public officials are not dishonest; all investigators are not moved by mere partisan spirit. We never believed that Mr. Daugherty or Mr. Fall were fitted for public office. It is undoubtedly true that such men are unable to withstand the temptations that come to men in public office, or even consciously desire and plot to use public office for private gain. But what we must be most earnest about is to give all men opportunity of having a fair and unprejudiced trial. It is not heat but light we want in the present emergency. The sober mind is of more value than passion, no matter how much of righteousness there is within it.

The real issue for the American people in this mess, however, is not the condemnation of public officials for malfeasance in office. It is important at the present time to find out the guilty ones, but this is not the most important thing. It is easy enough to demand a scapegoat, and having found him to present all our sins upon him. The truth is, we are all guilty more or less. We never have believed in a policy of conservation of public resources. It is true that there are individual exceptions to this, but we have never given them our whole-hearted or continued support. We allowed men in office who did not believe in conservation, and complacently watched the appointment of men to care for these resources whose records show them utterly opposed to any such policy; but when they act as we might expect them to act, then we are indignant and demand that somebody be punished. The real issue is the development of a public spirit, and a method of administration of the public resources that will remove temptation from those who, if presented with it, are bound to fall. We pray "Lead us not into temptation," and then we place public officials in the presence of great temptations. It is the people who are on trial in Washington as much as any individuals. What we need more than vengeance is a definite policy which will firmly establish and maintain the principle of conservation.

But this is not all that must be said! Having urged people to keep their heads and hold to the path of reason and justice, having pointed out that there is a fundamental issue of policy involved in this Washington business more important than any misdeeds or punishments of individuals, we would now emphasize the real enormity of what has been revealed in recent months by the Senatorial investigations. Out of all the mass of credible and incredible evidence, certain facts emerge with startling clearness. One is that certain great business interests entered into a deliberate conspiracy to purchase the government for its use to their own advantage, and that they found in the Harding administration the officers who from ignorance (Denby!) or corruption (Fall!) were willing to sell. Indeed it seems to us altogether probable, though not yet proved, that this conspiracy began with the nomination of Harding on terms of appointments to office, etc., which guaranteed the later buying and selling of the public interest. Another fact is this—that Mr. Daugherty, whether guilty or not of actual crimes, was associated with such a gang of profiteers, bribers, blackmailers, bootleggers, and criminals generally as no man of any decency or honor, to say nothing of a public official, least of all the head of the Department of Justice, would associate with for a single moment. We venture the opinion that never in the history of the Republic has the government been dragged to so low a level of debauchery and general corruption as it was in the office of Harry Daugherty. And there is a third fact in all this mess—the fact, namely, that the whole Harding administration moved on a general plane of vulgarity, easy morals, and out-and-out dishonesty which is as unprecedented as it is shocking. These facts we know, and together they constitute a scandal which makes every true American blush with shame.

This raises another question! Is every true American blushing with shame? On the contrary, nothing is quite so impressive at this moment as the stolid indifference with which the public is receiving the revelation of the most arrant betrayal of democracy since George Washington took the oath of office as president. The American people are apparently convinced that this is only what is to be expected of their elected offices. In other words, they are utterly cynical, or appear utterly cynical, of the whole theory and system of practical democracy. Worse than this is the attitude of the great body of the press! Apparently the only thing that alarms and shocks such newspapers as the New York *Times,* the Chicago *Tribune,* etc., is the fact not that corruption in Washington exists, but that it is actually being *exposed!* Day after day these journals harp on hysteria, on political partisanship, on slander and scandal-mongering. Day after day, they assail not the men responsible for what has happened—Doheny, Sinclair, Fall, Denby, Daugherty, Roosevelt, Burns, etc., but the men responsible for revealing what has happened—Walsh, Wheeler, Norris, Brookhart, La Follette. These papers, in other words, are doing their utmost to defend the criminals and block the prosecution. That the criminals are not devils, and the prosecutors not angels, is true. That all the rumors bruited abroad are not to be believed, we have admitted. That there is hysteria and partisanship involved in the investigation, goes without saying. But these are not the essential but the accidental and incidental features of what is going on. The basic thing is a betrayal of the public interest which has no parallel in American history. This betrayal constitutes a moral challenge of the first order. If it be not answered, woe be to our country!

It's pretty hard to feel any sympathy for any members of the Coolidge administration these days. But we find our heart going out, all the same, to two men. One is Mr. Hoover, whose silence is the most painful we have ever heard. Here is one time at least when a man is not known by the company he keeps! Hoover does not belong to this Fall-Denby-Daugherty-Weeks crowd that came into office with Mr. Harding, and is now little by little being swept away like so much bad rubbish. Personally we wish that he would resign, as any gentleman would naturally leave a crowd of toughs, but we suppose that there are political conditions and considerations which make this impossible for the pres-

ent at least. The other man for whom we feel sorry is Mr. Hughes. We have long since lost any respect that we ever had for him as a statesman, and we regard his record as one of the worst that has ever been made in his exalted office. Nevertheless, we have always believed in Mr. Hughes's honesty, respectability, sincerity, even piety, and never questioned his courage. But now look at the mess that he is in! The *confrère* of Daugherty and McLean, a member of a house-party gathered to witness a showing of the illegal prize-fight pictures, the head of a cabinet besmeared with the scandal of the oil leases—and now busy from day to day with official and personal disavowals of sin based on the petty plea of ignorance! When has a distinguished man fallen to such a level of humiliation as did Mr. Hughes when he alleged that he did not know that the fight films were illegal? It is to weep! The fact is, of course, that the time is at hand when decent men have got to ask themselves the straight question as to whether they can afford any longer to have any connections of any kind with the existing party machines. The debauch of the Harding episode is no accident—it is organized politics playing true to form. "A plague on both your houses!"

As we criticized J. Ramsay Macdonald some few weeks ago for his support of a naval bill, we desire now to lift high praises in his honor for his courage in scrapping the Singapore naval base program—as sinister a scheme as ever disgraced a Tory government. This, with the recognition of Russia and the release of Gandhi, marks the third great achievement of the Labor Premier. A month or more ago there were disquieting humors that Macdonald was planning to adopt the Singapore idea as inherited from the Baldwin administration. It was declared that the naval lords were threatening to resign if Singapore was abandoned, and thus to bring down upon the unhappy head of the Labor Party the wrath of an indignant people. What has actually been going on behind the scenes is of course unknown, but Macdonald has thrown Singapore overboard, and the country and the navy are unrent by any crisis. All of which is eloquent testimony of the courage, character and high statesmanship of Macdonald! The Singapore program, as we have said, was militaristic to the core. In spirit if not actually in letter, it was a violation of the Washington agreement. It was as clear a threat against Japan as Germany's fortification of Heligoland in the old days was a threat against England. Its cost, at a time when the Empire was staggering under an unprecedented burden of taxation, was enormous. Yet imperialistic interests demanded its consummation—so we were told! Macdonald, however, does not think so—and the world, as well as England, heaves a sigh of relief. This is a good sign, especially after the error on the naval bill. Macdonald and his men are "carrying on"!

Here is an amazing piece of news from England—that Arnold Toynbee, distinguished bearer of an already distinguished name, has been compelled to resign his post as Professor of Greek at London University! Dr. Toynbee is best known as author of a book entitled "The Western Question"—recently published, and generally accepted, indeed highly praised, as the most impartial study we have of the Turko-European question. In a current political publication, he expressed some views which were not altogether complimentary to the Greeks—probably told the truth about Turkish and Greek atrocities in the Near East. Now it chances that the Professorship held by Prof. Toynbee is endowed by Greeks, mostly resident in London, for the study of modern Greek literature. These Greeks, outraged that their Professor should think any of their fellow-countrymen not perfect, promptly demanded that the offender be dismissed. They did not question his fitness for his post—they could not, for his qualifications are unrivalled. They did not submit evidence in contravention of his opinions or statements. They simply cried, "Off with his head"—and off it came! The incident has naturally stirred up a sensation in academic circles, and has brought sharp rebuke upon London University. To Americans, it will seem disappointing, for we have an idea that England is ahead of us in matters of freedom of thought and speech. Perhaps an Upton Sinclair is needed over there to look into the colleges and universities, and if necessary write a "Goose-Step."

We referred a few weeks ago to the action, or rather inaction, of the American Unitarian Association in failing to respond to the appeal of Rev. Henry W. Pinkham for leadership in the campaign against war. We want this week to contrast with this episode another episode—that of the Methodists at the recent meeting of their Council of Cities in Pittsburgh. We have already recorded in these columns the splendid utterances at this meeting in favor of the Outlawry of War. Only recently, however, have we learned that these utterances were followed by action of a startling and inspiring nature. It seems that this Council adopted a "Memorial"—which we suppose is a kind of formal address to their constituency. In this "Memorial," as originally presented to the meeting, there occurred the phrase, "Our church will look with grave concern upon any movement toward war." This, of course, like a million other phrases of the kind, meant absolutely nothing—and the Council knew it. Whereupon they moved and carried the motion to strike out this phrase, and put in its place the sentence,

> *We inform the government that our church can take no part in any movement toward war.*

Here is a statement that means business, thank God! We hope that the *Christian Century* is right when it declares that this is

the first formulation in what is destined to be a series of actions freeing the churches from the support of war. . . . The churches are going to excommunicate war!

At any rate here is a great body numbering its members by the millions, now following the pioneer leadership of the Quakers, and thus taking the uncompromising position on this war question. The Unitarians have lost already their chance to lead in this awakening. We trust that they will not be too proud to follow!

The Intransigeants

UNITY has recently printed a list of some two hundred and fifty excellent names, made up by the active editor of the *Arbitrator,* of men and women whom he pronounces intransigeants, that is, uncompromisingly opposed to the present order of human society. The list reads, to some, like a roll of honor of the kingdom of heaven. It means the people of progress, or those who look for a better world. Or one might say, it is a select group of experts, who have been called in to tell us what the matter is with our fruit orchard. Must we give it up as worthless, and set out something different? Or, shall we try what pruning and spraying will do for it? But please do not imagine, if these admirable people are "experts," that they will agree in their recommendations!

Meantime, what do we, the readers of UNITY, make of this vast century-growth of the world life? We are observers of it, and doomsters too, and at the same time specimens ourselves of its fruit. Are we inclined to declare ourselves in any way "intransigeants"— His Majesty's glorious opposition? Do we covet the distinction of having already made up our minds what to do with our orchard? Do we wish to belong to the kingdom of heaven, as we might cast in our lot with a new party?

Let us first find a good meaning for the kingdom of heaven. Let us translate it into the highest modernist or humanist terms, such as we might all agree to and enjoy not only contemplating, but also working out. It would be something like this: The full and ever enlarging expression of every beautiful and joyous form of life in each of us, combined in a grand comradeship of lives similarly possessed and devoted one and all to such kinds of fruitful activity as would both require and provide the continual renewal of energy flowing through our mutual co-operative intercourse from the infinite source in the good will of the universe. For man is never at the height of his life—his real self—except when and so far as he is impelled by the vital touch of the infinite toward ideals which transcend his powers of imagination. We have in this conception (do we not?) that which rests us and steadies our nerves and gives visions of joy, while at the same time it makes us alive and constantly widens our sympathies, so that we can be indeed men of the three dimensions of height and depth and breadth.

Moreover, this kingdom of God, in other words, our proper life is here and now in an engrossing and most complicated kind of citizenship. Wherever our life is placed (it would be the same, we surmise, if we were transferred to Aldebaran), our business is with creation, which is ever evolution, growth, betterment. We suspect that our earth is not the only one that needs betterment. Never, where time is noted, does there cease to be this call to the creative life in us to find ways of new growth or transference from the lower into the higher, from the sensuous to the realm of vision, from the loving care of little children to the interpretations of the eternal mysteries of the universe.

Thus we return and face the problem of this disappointing old earth-orchard in the spirit of the poet-creator. We are challenged with a bewildering and yet simple task. For the first time in the ages man seems to have revealed to him the nature of the work in which he is engaged. When the ethical and spiritual life began, man could not have known it as more than a tribal enterprise. Even today it is hard for men who ought to know better to think of their lives, except in the picturesque terms of individual contestants, each soul being a single combatant between the forces of good and evil—the average man being hardly more than a pawn between Satan and God. The world life for the most part has seemed a huge mystery; unless a deity intervened how could there be any salvation for man? See now the change. We men fairly begin to see how to steer the vast movements of mankind. Men have appeased and assured us, not in vain, that we need only apply the same intelligence, prevision, and ingenuity with which our science proceeds, in order to bind together all human interests into a splendid plan; in short, to learn to conduct our hitherto tangled human relations by the same plain laws which work so well in thousands of households and shops and neighborhoods, and following the spiritual clue, we may thus lift the whole level of welfare and happiness. Hundreds and thousands of men how have the vision. This is the kingdom of heaven. Suppose every man caught this vision and carried it in his heart as the gleam of a glorious destiny!

Already the flower of every veritable religion has appeared now and then and brought forth singular and appropriate fruit. There is a secret of life, and that too the very type of life which we have been considering. The coming man (and he is here and known in almost every neighborhood) possesses, or is possessed by, a certain spirit, which every one naturally likes to see, and which marks the grown man. He is truthful and a lover of truth; honorable, fair-minded, fearless, modest, cheerful and habitually friendly and helpful. He believes in good and expects the coming of good.

Is it not possible that we have abused our world, and been unduly disappointed by its awful shortcomings? Assume for a moment (what is most likely true), that in this year A. D. 1924 the world contains more people than any age preceding ours ever knew, who are pervaded by this humane spirit. Suppose that the most desperate war that barbarous men ever fought has not merely not annihilated this spirit, but has made a tremendous demonstration, that the world needs this spirit of the grown man more than it needs anything else, yes, more than it needs advanced science. Admit that an unknown number of unpretentious men and women are carrying this ineradicable secret of the good spirit; that the ideal of the necessary coming kingdom of heaven which mankind is set to create, is abroad in the world warming the hearts of every one who catches the vision. Was there ever a better time in which to live?

We have not forgotten the intransigeant. What can he do for us? He is at least unfortunate in seeming to announce in advance that he is at war with the existing order. We do not understand what he proposes to set in our orchard after we have cut down the trees. The energetic editor of the *Arbitrator* has prepared a monstrously long and certainly very interesting questionnaire in order to ascertain how far our first rank of intransigeants can agree in their program. It ranges through the gamut of things industrial and financial, governmental and international and general, all the way from minimum wage laws to the abolishment of state constabularies and to proportional representation. If agreement in nine tenths of these ways of possible betterment might be the test of a man's entrance into our modern kingdom of heaven, St. Peter's gate would be easy by comparison.

Does it not seem as if a man might be a hardy intransigeant, a real Ishmaelite in fact, and not really live at all in the kingdom of heaven—the commonwealth of humanity? What if we do not possess the constant friendly spirit? What if we do not carry the open mind? What if we cannot compromise when we ought to? In other words, what if we cannot co-operate with one another?

It is time to draw certain rather bracing and not disheartening conclusions. The way of growth (evolution) is the way of constant surprises. We are apt to think that our pet reform is coming in by a grand triumph of numbers, or voters, whereby we shall fasten a new law forever upon the constitutions of the world. Is this the way by which the kingdom of heaven comes in? Do we indeed wish to take great minorities of our fellows by the throat and force them to go our way? The truth is that the kingdom of heaven, that is, of all desirable and wholesome things, is within us and only comes as we grow to them.

Again, there is no existing order, Socialist or capitalistic, that can be defined or described, while people wait to see it destroyed by a mob, or erected out of a pile of suffrages. Whatever present order there is, changes while you watch it, being in constant transition. Already beneath the surface you may trace a complex vision of divers schemes on trial now. You have Golden Rule stores and factories, and big co-operative enterprises often working admirable results. The Labor Unions are free to start their own shops and banks. What is the modern State but a costly laboratory of Socialism? Let whatever proves best survive.

These considerations do not forbid us to march on and consummate our better world. It depends more than on anything else (does it not?) on the intelligence, skill and efficiency with which we individuals each perform our plain daily work. Suppose we could double tomorrow the number of individuals who give society their best, honest product, kindly temper, devotion and trustworthiness! Who will join the kingdom of heaven, and give his life to bring it in?

Here is the great opportunity, finally, for the intransigeants. They are the people who will not compromise their principles. Good! We need their help and to be braced in resolution to stand likewise by our principles. To tell the truth? Let there be no compromise on this point. To do ourselves what we ask others to do? To steer all our business by the Golden Rule? To wish, and therefore to take, nothing that belongs to another? To do no cruel or inhumane act? How about war? Whoever has any principle against this immense mischief is needed. How about keeping a good will towards all kinds of men? Here is the key to the kingdom of heaven. Is it possible to bring a healing solution to any of the evils which blight the tree of life, unless a man will devote his best self to his enterprise? Who desires now and henceforth to live in the kingdom of heaven?

CHARLES F. DOLE.

LOVE

Love asks no questions, heeds no bitter words.
Love shineth bright and sharp as warriors' swords,
Yet killeth not; 'tis love that raiseth up.
'Tis love will drink e'en from the bitt'rest cup,
And smile and dwell on every drop of sweet.
'Tis love will run a race with willing feet,
Yet patient wait if Heaven thinks it meet.
In silence, love will work for many years.
Love weeps to buy a tender thought with tears.
Love liveth on a single glance from eyes
A long while closed—the bright sun in the skies
Gives far less light than love—love never dies.

MONICA PEVERIL TURNBULL.

Jottings

Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, of Smith College, surveying the documents, reports, etc., on the origins of the Great War, published since the Armistice, gives it as his sober conviction that "Germany and England appear to have been the only states honestly desirous of peace in 1914." Rather a reversal of popular judgment, in the case of Germany at least! Yet this is only one more confirmation of the pacifist position from the beginning.

It is stated that Lord Curzon, now that he is relieved of his public duties, is planning to write a book on Napoleon. If sympathy with one's subject is a qualification, Curzon's work ought to be a masterpiece of the first order.

It is worth noting that, in his last book, Charles William Eliot states that he has never in his long life made regular use of any stimulants—tea, coffee, tobacco, or alcohol. He has totally abstained only from tobacco, but the others have been practically ignored. We are inclined to think that there is reason for the ninety years and more.

A recent investigation in London, England, has revealed that only one person in fifteen is a church-goer. Yet we imagine that the churches are "flourishing" in London, just as they are in New York and other American cities!

We clip the following from the April issue of *The American Mercury*:

> I am a Searchlight on a high tower.
>
> I run my relentless eye to and fro throughout the land; my piercing glance penetrates the brooding places of Iniquity. I plant my eyes and ears in the whispering Corridors of Crime.
>
> Wherever men gather furtively together, there am I, an austere and invisible Presence. I am the Recording Angel's Proxy.
>
> When I invade the fetid dens of Infamy there is a sudden scampering and squeaking as of rats forsaking a doomed ship.
>
> I am the haunting dread of the depraved and the hated Nemesis of the vicious.
>
> The foe of Vice, the friend of Innocence, the rod and staff of Law, I am—
>
> THE KU KLUX KLAN.

The *Mercury* classifies this as "Americana." We are afraid that the classification is correct.

A noble echo of Gandhi's release from prison! Rabindranath Tagore wired his appeal to the government in these terms:

> I ask for the release of Mahatmaji not because he suffers, but because his sufferings humiliate our Government.

J. H. H.

Quo Vandimus

It is a long struggle that leads from barbarism to civilization. As Kipling puts it so well in the Legend of Evil:

> Our fathers frisked in the millet
> Our fathers skipped in the wheat
> Our fathers hung from the branches
> Our fathers danced in the street.
> Then came the terrible farmers,
> Nothing of play they knew,
> Only . . . they caught our fathers
> And set them to labor too.

From the life of the hunter and fisherman we evolved to the life of the farmer. We became craftsmen, later on industrials and office workers. Step by step we were forced to work harder and longer in spite of organized efforts to ward off this supposed evil. From epoch to epoch man has worked harder and has been forced somehow into a higher efficiency. The whole process that leads toward civilization seems to deprive man of his leisure.

In another sense the civilizing process is an evolution away from freedom. As men gather into communities they are forced to relinquish freedom of action. They become subjected to police regulations. For the common good they are compelled to live in accordance with sanitary regulations, they are forced to keep the peace, they must yield to the thousand and one restrictions that stamp them as law-abiding citizens.

A nation crystallizes modes of conduct into laws and a race goes beyond this and establishes conventions. We see at once that the convention is more sacred than the law, for the law has not yet been approved by ages of race experience. The man who breaks the speed ordinance or even he who violates the prohibition law, pays his fine and goes back into society without much humiliation. When he commits adultery he becomes subject to a more complete social ostracism. Whether he be punished by the law or not, he cannot escape that most terrible of punishments which puts him beyond the approval of his fellows.

It is clear that if society is to continue to live in congested centers this process of surrendering personal liberties must continue. We may all pray that this process may be worked out wisely, but as to the general principle there can be no doubt. The dream of Tolstoy, that men should revert to the status of isolated farmers with the freedom of action that such a life affords, runs counter to this principle and, therefore, must be abandoned. Dream as we may of the old independence of action, we cannot return to it, and we may as well make up our minds to surrender more liberties as time goes on.

Modern life shows this at every turn. There was a beautiful freedom and independence in the craftsman's shop in the past. His world was in his own four walls, where he wrought in accordance with his own pleasure. The factory placed the craftsman into a prison. Many well-meaning reformers have tried to take the craftsman out of the factory and put him back into his old environment. Progress points in another direction. Progress lies in the direction of more sanitary, more beautiful factories in which the old craftsman, stripped of many of his old liberties, may do greater service for the common good. A similar story might be told of the evolution of

trading. The department store will not be unscrambled, it will be developed more and more into a center where a body of disciplined men and women serve the commonwealth.

This is clearly reflected in our art. Time was when Pan played his pipe on a solitary shepherd's hill with the utmost freedom. Modern society has developed the symphony orchestra in which a hundred men yield up their freedom of action in the interest of better results. In a sense, this is one of the most perfect symbols of modern life. The ideal modern man surrenders his individuality by accepting leadership. He is not only willing but desirous to obey traditions, laws, and even new principles that have not yet been formulated into law or crystallized into tradition.

It would seem that the civilizing process is tantamount to enslavement, and it is unless we remain conscious of another tendency that parellels it. If civilization means anything at all it means evolution in the direction of spiritual freedom. While liberty of action may become more and more circumscribed, liberty of conscience and freedom of utterance must ever grow if civilization is not to become stereotyped and die.

At the bottom of every law and every tradition lies the individual consciousness. If the individual consciousness is restricted in its operations and restrained in its expression, the laws and traditions which are the resultants of co-operating or conflicting consciences cannot represent the spiritual status of the race. Mob rule, in an overwhelming majority of cases, is an attempt to stifle an idea which, if allowed freedom, may alter law, tradition and conduct. Foolish ideas need no repression, for, in the struggle for existence, they perish. Sound ideas should not be repressed—in the long run they cannot be repressed. Repression always forces the holders of ideas into secret fellowships, it organizes creeds; and creeds, as any liberal knows, are out of harmony with the healthy and normal development of thought. The moment we crystallize our thinking into a creed we shut ourselves up to influences that might alter our opinion and we become stagnant. Repression is the mother of creeds, and creeds in turn breed repression. It is, therefore, in the interest of civilization to move away from these twin evils.

All this is in accordance with our best thinking and feeling, for we revere the man who has dared to assert his personal convictions in the face of overwhelming opposition.

> Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes
> They were men who stood alone;
> While the crowd they agonized for
> Hurled the contumelious stone.

Their own immediate environment may condemn such men, but the race consciousness in the long run upholds them. Who does not think of Socrates and Jesus in this connection? Who does not recall minor examples without number, great figures that stand as beacons in the history of the emancipation of thought.

Whenever men have dared to stand for the expression of their deepest convictions, the art of the world has experienced a period of unusual luster. The fact that Socrates drank the hemlock, illustrated the further fact that great numbers of Greeks placed their convictions above mob rule. Sophocles wrote one drama after another in which he took issue with current thought and Aristophanes poured out his wit in a somewhat lurid fashion over his contemporaries.

In periods when freedom of utterance was suppressed on the other hand, art became grotesque and insincere. Such periods abound in symbolism, phantastic allegory and finally in mysticism. In viewing such works of art one feels that the artist is hiding behind his art. One gets the sensation that he is more or less of a poltroon and a coward. Not only this, but the lack of sincerity manifests itself in the very style of such artists. One feels instinctively that the Venus of Milo, the Winged Victory and sculptures of the Parthenon were carved by free men, for they are eloquent with sincerity and they have that directness of appeal that springs only from frank and unfettered souls.

The Italian Renaissance was a period of such freedom of utterance. It was a common practice to nail theses for discussion on church doors. As one scans the words of prominent representatives of the Renaissance one is amazed at the religious and spiritual tolerance of the period. Even Lorenzo de Medici tolerated Savonarola and sent for him when he lay on his deathbed. Interesting enough it is, to reflect on the fact that it was not Lorenzo nor his successor, but the mob, that later burned the strangled body of Savonarola in the public square.

It is well to remember that religious tolerance goes back to a period antedating the Reformation. Pico della Mirandola had the courage to say

> As nature is the very beginning of mercy, philosophy is deemed to be the beginning of religion, and there is, therefore, no philosophy which is able to turn us away from religion.

Fifty years ago such a statement would have cost most American college professors their position.

Leonardi da Vinci said:

> The lie is so despicable that even when it praises God, it deprives him of his dignity; on the other hand, truth is so splendid that even when it praises the most trivial things, these are ennobled by it.

Petrarch in an age of princes said:

> A good prince must despise everything that benefits utility at the expense of justice and must constantly cling to the doctrine to which all good wise men agree, that nothing can be useful which is not at the same time honest and just.

In the period of the church's greatest corruption Michelangelo dared to assert:

> That those whom fortune favors, it pollutes.

In one of those immortal sonnets in which he revealed his very soul to us, he had the courage to say:

> Eternal punishment is mine
> If aught I have perverted or misused the truth:
> But in Thee, O Lord, I feel my hope is sure.
> He who knows not how his will is free
> Has no excuse to render and no gifts to share.

When we remember that these lines were written in the days of Catholicism, by a man who held very important commissions from the Pope, we are inclined to marvel at them.

> He who knows not how his will is free
> Has no excuse to render and no gifts to share.

Some of the spirit of the Renaissance entered into the Protestant Reformation. Luther continued the practices of the Renaissance when he nailed his theses to the church door. He stood out as one of the world's moral heroes when he asserted the freedom of the individual conscience in matters of faith. Of course we of the Twentieth Century regret that he, in turn, enslaved that religious conscience in a definite body of religious lore. What was infinitely worse, Luther confined his declaration of independence to religious beliefs. His words of condemnation for the rebellious peasants of his time show only

too clearly that political freedom was not a part of his program.

For this reason the whole Lutheran movement became reactionary, politically. Men became free to think as they would about God, but not about the relations of man to man. Lutheran nations, therefore, were content to put up with autocracy. Lutherans became tractable political subjects and poor champions of political democracy. The southern and western states of Germany where Lutheranism was not so strong were the first to show democratic tendencies such as asserted themselves in France, England and America.

Since religious tolerance had already been practiced in the Renaissance, we dare not take too much credit to ourselves for that achievement. The Reformation and the succeeding centuries simply fortified civilization in this possession.

The Nineteenth Century is marked by the broadening of this principle to include freedom of utterance in political questions. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the English Parliament still met behind closed doors, and it was not the privilege of the citizen to participate in the political issues of the day. In the course of the century the principle of complete freedom of thought and utterance became more fully established, not without suffering very serious limitations from time to time.

One of the most interesting of these lapses occurred in Germany. Scarcely had the new German Empire been established in 1871, when the spectre of Socialism appeared on the horizon. The new government accepted the principle of freedom of speech in political matters, but it enacted an "exception law." It excepted the Socialists from the protection of the laws guaranteeing free speech on the ground that the Socialists taught doctrines dangerous to the State and that the State had the right of self-protection. Men were again thrown into prison for political opinions, and the result was that Socialism became the creed of an overwhelming number of German citizens. Are we wrong when we maintain, that, if the exception laws had not been enacted, Germany would have been liberalized in a more satisfactory manner? Are we wrong when we assert that there might have been more true liberals and fewer dogmatic Socialists in the realm?

The same danger threatens modern society in the field of economic thinking. We penalize the utterance with which we do not agree. This first of all gives it additional publicity. All of those who suffer from persecution immediately crystallize their passing opinions into creeds to be defended at all costs, and sound progress is arrested.

It is utterly futile to conduct a controversy, for a controversy always fixes the attitude on both sides and makes real enlightenment impossible. This, on a larger scale, happens in cases of persecution for unorthodox thinking in religion, politics and economics. How wise the English have been in permitting anyone to say anything in public at Hyde Park! How many revolutions, large and small, may have been prevented in London by this admirable safety valve!

But there are graver dangers in this practice of repression. Repress thought and utterance of thought and the whole spiritual and moral atmosphere become vitiated. Under repression no one any longer knows whether his associates are sincere or not. The pupil at school begins to wonder whether the teacher is telling the truth as she sees it or whether she is the creature of policy. The further up we go in this matter, the worse it becomes. We may no longer know whether the professor is teaching propaganda or history, whether the professor is teaching ethics or a code imposed upon him by men who happen to sit in the high places. High schools and universities under such conditions become precarious places for young men and women who are trying to find the standards of a higher life.

When we turn to purely spiritual matters this becomes doubly clear. How many pulpits have been desecrated by men who have preached what they do not believe under the pressure of such conditions? Can an atmosphere of sound spirituality continue in a church under these conditions?

Unitarianism has been wise in refraining from the formulation of a creed that can bind the individual conscience and it has, therefore, on the whole fostered sincerity. Like other bodies it has not entirely lived up to its ideals, for it too has been subject to mob violence.

As a people we are peculiarly in danger of this evil. A small resolute minority organizes in order to assert its will and to stamp out dissent. This is worse than despotism, for the despot knows well that his despotism in the end must have the backing of a majority. It represents one of the worst evils in a democracy, for it simply means an unwillingness to abide by the law. If allowed to flourish, this mob law finally paralyzes free utterance of thought and conviction completely, as present day Italy proves.

It is possible to imagine a community in which a series of such clans are operative. One believes in suppressing the Negroes, one is anti-Catholic, another is anti-Semitic, another is opposed to free silver, still another does not believe in vivisection, but would ruin the man, his wife and his children, who believe as he does not. It is clear enough to what a level of limited thinking and feeling the individuals in such a community would sink.

Repression of this kind not only leads to hypocrisy, but it forestalls anything like a pedagogical program to remedy existing evils. A parent that constantly practices repression in the home soon becomes detached from his children. He becomes so far removed from their actual modes of thought that educational processes become entirely impossible, for a diagnosis is out of the question. It is on a level with the physician who prohibits his patients from revealing their symptoms to him.

Nietzsche calls the morality of the mob, the morality imposed upon the individual by a determined mob-consciousness. Nietzsche was right and the German Junker was wrong when nationalism of the old order was under discussion. We have lived to see it discredited in Germany and we shall see it discredited elsewhere. What a resolute number of men tried to impose on a whole nation turned out to be a miserable fallacy.

Now comes President Charles Eliot of Harvard and sounds a similar note of warning. He tells us that we Americans act too much as a mass and not enough as responsible independent individuals, that the sturdy independence of a generation ago is becoming rarer. We are inclined to agree with the honored President of Harvard, who has often been a living example of how a strong unterrified man can hold the spirit of mob-consciousness at bay. A generation ago we were not without our mob impulses, but a generation ago there were many who dared to face mob thinking and correct it. There was more courageous leadership in the democracy, a status to which we must return if we are to be true to the best American traditions.

It is not rash to look for new leadership along this line in the liberal ranks. The liberal has been taught in a school of hard experience to differ with others and to

maintain his self respect. Unitarianism, moreover, has developed a modern liberal who holds enlightened religious views without sacrificing the standards of personal conduct. It has developed a liberal who submits to the discipline of civilization and is willing to increase that discipline in the interest of common good. It becomes doubly important that he keep the door open for dissenting thought, not only in religion, but in politics, in art, in social customs, in economic theory—in all those reactions that spring up in the human soul.

Let us not

> From the tombs of the old prophets
> Steal the funeral lamps away
> To light up the martyr fagots
> Round the prophets of today.

It is the mob mind that lights martyr fagots and it is one of the chief problems of the new America to prevent mobs. This is to be accomplished only by a long and painstaking process of education. Mounted policemen, civic guards and more stringent laws will not avail, because they help to breed the psychology from which mobs spring.

Strange—is it not?—that democracies like France and America should be so subject to this danger. One is almost tempted to assert that whenever the world swallows a dose of democracy it becomes more subject to mob-impulses. It is true that vast classes that acquire new liberties are prone to abuse these liberties and impose their own views upon their fellows. This is as true of the multitude as it is of individual despots. Napoleon's original purpose was to rid Europe of despotism of the old traditional type and he ended by substituting a new despotism for the old. This is equally true of liberated groups of humanity. From the state of liberation they readily pass to the state of oppression. The mobs during the French Revolution and the Bolshevists of our own day insist upon placing their standards upon all of their fellow men. The French Revolution would not have had the ugly manifestations of mob-violence if the period that preceded it had fostered more schools and had permitted greater freedom of conscience generally.

Bolshevism would not be quite so extreme if czarist Russia had made it possible for more than eight per cent of the Russians to become literate. It is the fettering of the Russian conscience by the old regime, the prohibiting of free speech, the interference with the press, that are to be held responsible for the errors of the extremists today.

> New occasions teach new duties,
> Time makes ancient good uncouth,
> They must upward still and onward
> Who would keep abreast of truth.

This same idea was expressed in the middle ages by the belief that the devil constantly turns up in a new guise and that we must ever be watchful to recognize him and be on our guard.

There is still a field for the liberal church as long as the free expression of opinion is in danger. It will be in danger till we reach the millennium—for it is a natural impulse in man to try to impose his will on others.

For this reason, untrammeled thinking will always be in danger unless there are potent forces that rush to its defense. When we remember how long has been the conflict to establish freedom of creed we need not be surprised that political, social and economic freedom of thought have a long struggle ahead. Unless there is some chance for the freedom of thought touching our social and economic relations, there cannot be, in the long run, any religious freedom in the real sense, for religious values are constantly translating themselves into social and economic values, and as our social and economic conditions change, new religious problems arise.

It is, therefore, an error for the Liberal to take his religion in a luke-warm spirit. His is an important mission upon whose success or failure the very success of civilization hinges. As he safeguards its interests, he makes civilization possible. The Liberal has had too much aloofness from the conflict of ideals, he has been too prone to sit back philosophically and let the lower forces have their way, instead of throwing the force of his personality into the defense of his ideals.

Of course, the Liberal should not become a dogmatic meddler in the affairs of other people. No one has had the good fortune of having wireless connections with Most High, for the scriptures tell us that he who sees Jehovah dies. But we may recall the splendid example of Jesus who went about in his humble world and succeeded in putting his finger on moral and spiritual issues —who without bluster and bigotry asserted his attitude and powerfully influenced all with whom he came into contact. Not the least of his virtues was the splendid self-assertion when his ideals were questioned.

It is a long, long struggle that leads from barbarism to civilization. We are glad to give up past leisure in order to devote ourselves to the work of the world. We are proud to sacrifice our freedom of action in order to safeguard the interests of our fellow-men. We gladly accept the burden that the world calls discipline and turn it into joy, by making it self-discipline, but we reserve one freedom, the freedom to think and feel, coupled with the right to express what we think and feel without any trammels whatsoever. PAUL H. GRIMMANN.

University of Nebraska.

THE VICTORY

> Ah, Christ, and who are these that have come up
> Out of the fields of blood, these maimed and blind,
> These dumb that come so slowly back again,
> With sightless sockets turned up to the sun?
> Are these they who but yesterday marched off
> To music sweet as heaven; who went out
> To beautify a world with arts of hell?
>
> And who are these that come not back again,
> Sown to the winds of war they did not make,
> Paying the price of hatreds not their own?
> Could Abraham spare Isaac for a ram,
> And yet our sons must die for rich men's sheep?
> Come, priests of Nabob, come you patrioteers,
> And say, by God, if this be victory!
>
> On sunken eyes, O faces smote by fire,
> O weeping hearts that wait eternity,
> O dead, sleep and forget, for at the dawn
> The wrath of God and your avenger come!

—Hugh Robert Orr.

An American Bishop on Gandhi

"They say that Gandhi is not a Christian. He says he isn't; and if Christianity were a matter of mere profession and pretense, that would settle the point. But Gandhi, I tell you, is living the Gospel of Jesus. He is demonstrating the truth and the power of our Master's teachings. He is exemplifying Christianity instead of merely preaching it; and he is making a joke out of our Western civilization which pretends to worship Jesus while it is backing up all sorts of materialistic claims with bayonets and battleships."

The man who said this is a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is an American, a decidedly American American, and he is thoroughly acquainted with the subject in hand. He knows India as few Americans know it. He has lived there as a missionary and as a church executive for the greater part of the past twenty years. He has not, however, lost his perspective. He has not allowed India to swallow him up. He is a driving, hustling, hop-to-it type of Westerner who would pass in the crowd, in all probability, as a super-charged, live-wire industrial executive rather than a churchman.

It was Bishop Fred B. Fisher, who was elected Bishop at the General Conference in Des Moines four years ago. Previous to that, Dr. Fisher had attracted world attention by his book "India's Silent Revolution." Many life-long residents of India attacked the book at the time. These "authorities" did not take issue with his statements of fact, but they accused Dr. Fisher of reading into them a revolutionary interpretation of his own. Since then, however, the revolution has become articulate. Mahatma Gandhi is its voice. No one alleges today that Dr. Fisher overstated the case, though there will be many to claim that he is overstating it now.

"I find," he told me, "that few Americans have any conception of what is going on in India. They may know about Gandhi in a general way, but they can't see that he has much of anything to do with world progress in general. But the fact is that Gandhi has made imperialism impossible. Gandhi has turned the world out of its course. Gandhi is wielding more power today than any military dictator could; and he is doing it by directly contradicting all of our Western theories of power.

"The Western world still believes that there is power in cannon. Gandhi knows that what we call force is weakness, and he has released spiritual weapons that our civilization does not understand. We think there is power in wealth. Gandhi knows there isn't. He was once wealthy and weak himself; but he stripped himself of all his wealth and became strong. He used to belong to a privileged group and was received at home and abroad in 'the very best circles'; but not until he gave up his wealth and his social position, not until he became a mendicant and put himself on a level with the outcasts, did he achieve the power which he wields today.

"This is not understandable to the Western mind because the Western mind has not yet understood the teachings of Jesus. But Gandhi has heard and understands. He told me once that Jesus to him was the greatest Spirit of all history; but that we did not have faith in Jesus or we would not cling so tenaciously to our faith in wealth and property. Even our missionary organizations, he said, do not have faith in Jesus; for their mission property is all held in the name of boards residing and operating in New York. You are afraid, he told me, that there may be some disturbance over here and that your property will be attacked and taken away; and in that case, you are leaving the way open to appeal to your Government in Washington, which will use its battleships to see that you are properly indemnified. 'That was not the way that Jesus taught you to act,' said Gandhi. 'Jesus said: If any man take away thy goods, ask them not again.'"

"What did you reply to him?" I asked Bishop Fisher.

"I didn't know what to say," said the Bishop. "I listened. It was my place to listen. I did not feel equal to teaching Gandhi about Jesus. Gandhi has been teaching me about Jesus instead. 'If your missionary movement,' he said, 'thoroughly believed in Jesus and acted whole-heartedly upon those beliefs, you would have no further troubles. For everybody would believe you. The world today is ready to listen to the teachings of Jesus; but it is not ready to listen to the teachings of people who profess to believe in Him while they are pinning their faith to property and to force.'"

Bishop Fisher has known Gandhi for many years. He knew him before the war, when Gandhi was a gentleman of high estate who was devoting himself and his extraordinary talents to uplift the lowly; and he knew him when Gandhi became a hero in European eyes by urging his countrymen to lay aside all other considerations and unite in the war which was to save civilization from militarism. And he knew him when Gandhi, disillusioned and nauseated, not only by the war but by the civilization behind it, suddenly broke all connections with both war and civilization and became, supposedly, a fanatic.

"What had really happened to him," said Bishop Fisher, "was a realization of the hopelessness of our materialistic culture and a glimpse of the spiritual principles which Jesus taught. He returned to India and gave up his ancestral estates. Literally, he obeyed Jesus. He sold all he had and gave to the poor. He stripped himself of every worldly power and became immediately powerful. Before that time, he had thought only of using his wealth and influence in humanitarian service. Only when he surrendered 'all that he had,' even the privilege of being a philanthropist, did his real power come.

"Instead of urging his countrymen now to secure the blessings of modern civilization, he urged them to break from it entirely. He cautioned them not to be drawn into its wars and its politics and its chase for wealth. He extolled the simple life. He urged a return to the family system. He asked his people to go back to the spinning-wheel and let the factory die. He called upon them not to use any factory product, to dress in the cheapest homespun, and to break entirely from the influences of capitalism.

"He did not, however, make any appeal to force. He urged against it. War, he said, is not the way to end war. We must conquer by yielding but not by obeying. So he suggested a general policy of 'non-co-operation' and 'civil disobedience.' Non-co-operation meant a boycott against all things European. Civil disobedience meant a refusal to pay taxes for the privilege of being governed by a European power. And

what political movements and rebellious uprisings could not do, Gandhi has done. He has united India. He has electrified it, as we would say in the West, although the boycott may extend to the use of electricity. He has let loose a power with which the Western world can not cope.

"They put Gandhi in prison," Bishop Fisher continued, "as it was inevitable that they should. But that didn't stop him. It only added to his prestige. Gandhi all the time has insisted upon peaceful methods. He did not defend himself in court. When he was told that his words were treason, he replied that he was a lawyer and was well aware of that. His only excuse for speaking as he did, he said, was that he believed what he was saying. But there was not only no threat of violence in his speech but no rancor. He thanked the Judge most feelingly for his courtesies and said he understood that he would have to be condemned. And the English Judge was so touched that he expressed the hope that Gandhi would not have to serve out the whole sentence which it was his painful duty to impose upon him."

"You simply can't beat that spirit," said Bishop Fisher. "Our world hasn't invented any weapons that can cope with it. The longer Gandhi languished in prison, the greater he became. As his body weakened, his spiritual power grew. When he was eventually released, he was hailed by the populace everywhere as no other man that I know of in all history. The people of India are noted for their love of pageantry and they have customarily turned out *en masse* to every show of pomp and grandeur which their Governments have furnished. But Mahatma Gandhi today, dressed in a coarse-woven cotton rag, and with a wisp of cloth tied about his head which can hardly be dignified by the name of turban, is receiving ovations everywhere which royalty never knew."

"Is it true," I asked Bishop Fisher, "that even the Prince of Wales was boycotted on his recent visit to India—that the cabled reports of his welcome were all doctored up for political purposes but that, as a matter of fact, practically nobody turned out excepting foreigners and Government retainers?"

But Bishop Fisher strongly preferred not to give any testimony on that score. He himself was a member of one of the official reception committees. He didn't feel free, he said, to make any comment.

"But I can say," he said, "that I know of no one in history who has received such receptions as Gandhi. Sometimes he travels by train, for the policy of non-co-operation permits the use of trains; and wherever he travels, practically everybody seems to learn that he is coming. And everywhere he is hailed as The Incarnation. People come to the stations, not by the thousands but by the hundreds of thousands. No guards and no walls can keep them out. They climb like ants over the iron gates and swarm all over the cars to get a glimpse of their leader. When the train pulls out, it advances inch by inch, literally plowing its way through the mob. A mile from the station, you may still see the silent crowds lined up on both sides of the track, baring their heads and bowing reverently while the great man passes." . . .

The New York World. —*Charles W. Wood.*

THE STUDY TABLE

"The Prospects of Industrial Civilization"*

"The Prospects of Industrial Civilization," by Bertrand and Dora Russell, is a distinct contribution to the literature of "clarification." This generation is regaled by so much *hocus pocus* science that honest premises and evaluations of evidence are refreshing.

The Russells are not prophets of despair; neither are they magnifiers of the "all's well with the world" school. They are honest and careful students of affairs; critical analyzers of facts; calm and dispassionate prophets of reality. Their utter sincerity precludes the recognition of certain factors to the elimination of others. All alike must stand the scrutiny of trained intelligence and be weighed on the scales of scientific inquiry.

Digging—in true Ibsenian fashion—to the roots of things, the authors pierce the surface formulae, exposing the roots of the existing world chaos; *Industrialism* and *Nationalism.* Industrialism's two forms are capitalism and socialism: imperialism and the attempt to secure freedom for oppressed nations are the two forms of nationalism. (P. 7.) The chief characteristic of industrialism is its organic coherence. Every individual—the rich man, no less than the poor man—is dependent upon other individuals for the means wherewith to live, in contradistinction to the older type of pastoral or agricultural community in which each individual is dependent upon his own or his neighbors' production to maintain life.

Private property is a relic of agricultural society, and as industrial activities displaced individual agricultural efforts, the monopolization of land by the owners of industry transferred ownership by the many to the few. This exodus from the land to the factory places the wage-earner in no enviable position, "since he cannot make a living unless some capitalist chooses to employ him." (P. 47.)

> With the greater need of organization and control resulting from industrialism, the private capitalist becomes an unduly anarchic survival, preserving for himself alone a form of liberty which the rest of the community has unavoidably lost, and which, when industry is well developed becomes infinitely harmful to the community as a whole, through the excessive power which it confers upon a small class. Capitalism is essentially transitional, the survival of private property in the means of production into the industrial era which has no place for it owing to the fact that production has become co-operative. (Pp. 54-55.)

The efficiency, or the obverse, of industrialism is reflective of the intelligence of the workers. Ignorance limits the output of the best grade operative machinery, whereas, intelligent skilfullness increases the powers of any machinery. So, despite the workers' continued subservience to the capitalist, he is educationally growing in mental stature and vigor; the necessities of the case make education and training absolutely essential. This inconsistency in fact creates an issue of conflict between capital and labor that is seldom dwelt upon by economists to any degree of explanation or interpretative understanding.

Nationalism has been fostered by industrialism.

> It is through the interactions of nationalism and industrialism, even more than through the conflict of capitalism and socialism, that the world is being driven back into barbarism. Unless the destructive effects of nationalism can be mitigated, there

* "The Prospects of Industrial Civilization," by Bertrand and Dora Russell. Century, New York.

seems little hope for mankind except in a total collapse of the industrial system. (Pp. 56-57.)

The herd instinct—responsible for nationalism in the first place—is the chief cause of war. Many small states struggling for existence increase the danger of international conflicts, whereas the growth of large self-sustaining states reduces the danger to a minimum. "Until men realize that warfare . . . has now become race suicide there can be no hope for the world." (P. 74.) When war no longer presents hopes for gain "to short-sighted and blood-thirsty nations" war defenses will be strong, but war attacking facilities will be weak, as a result. Internationalism as a preventive of war is a factor of vast importance. The amelioration of social injustices would follow in the wake of peaceful periods, as light follows darkness. Nations co-operating with each other would conserve life, wealth, and intelligence, all of which are now dissipated and extinguished by competitive industrialism, wasteful nationalism, and destructive warfare.

The chances for the successful operation of socialism in undeveloped countries is very slim. Capital is essential to the development of natural resources. The authors' predictions—written months ago—concerning the course of the Bolshevik experiment in Russia, have been so accurately demonstrated by the successive activities of that struggling country that their prescience is to be marvelled at. Highly industrialized advanced countries are capable of easy and complete socialization. In countries such as Great Britain and the United States

all the conditions for the success of socialism already exist except the political ones. (P. 117.)

But the very success of capitalism in these countries, while producing the technical conditions for socialism, has also weakened the effective desire for it. (P. 118.)

The impatience of theoretical socialists to inaugurate in fact a socialist commonwealth has actually retarded instead of precipitated the event. The necessities of the situation forced the Bolshevists to "compress into months the work of decades and into a few years the work of generations." "But such rapid work is unstable." (P. 135.) Reason and persuasion—the slower but surer methods of argument, demonstration and final conversion are elementary to the final victory of the principle of socialism over capitalism, and are eliminative of the "bloody and doubtful" class warfare and forceful expedients.

In these days of fundamentalist agitation it is interesting to note the reaction of the Russells to religion and religious philosophy. A few quotations are self revealatory. In a discussion of the great need of "reason and the scientific temper of mind" they say—

Taboos, religious beliefs and social customs are the source of order among uncivilized tribes, in so far as any order exists among them; and they so remain the source of order through successive stages of culture, until at last the skeptical intellect shows their absurdity. (P. 6.)

And again they say,

the successful capitalists remain religious, partly because they have every reason to thank God for their blessings, and partly because religion is a conservative force, tending to repress the rebelliousness of wage-earners. But industrial wage-earners everywhere tend to lose their religious beliefs. (P. 36.)

The lessened vitality of religion, which has made it unable to survive new conditions, is in the main attributable to science. (P. 38.)

So the contention that evolution is the sin against the Holy Ghost, has some other advocates besides the fundamentalists! The possibility of avowed free-thinkers obtaining posts in the teaching professions in England or the United States is negligible because all education involves religious propaganda.

The young are only allowed to be taught by hypocrites because of the moral contamination to be feared from contact with honesty. (P. 133.)

In spite, however, of all the pressure used to perpetuate religion (Christianity in particular)—

Belief in religion, even where it survives formally, has usually as little vitality or influence upon conduct as belief in the heptarchy and the Merovingian kings. (P. 133.)

If you wish to persuade people that, because Adam ate an apple, all who have never heard of this interesting occurrence will be roasted in an everlasting fire by a benevolent Deity, you must catch them young, make them stupid by means of drink or athletics, and carefully isolate them from all contact with books or companions capable of making them think. (Pp. 134-135.)

Woman's position in the industrial society is defined without quibbling. Industrialism has broken-up the family; for when woman enters the labor field the difficulties of home-keeping and child-bearing and child-upbringing become well nigh insuperable.

Marriage, as it has existed since men took to agriculture, is likely to come to an end. Women will prefer to preserve their independence and will not rely upon the precarious bounty of an individual man. They will share their children with the state rather than with a husband, not invariably, but in a continually increasing proportion of instances. (P. 35.)

Whether desirable or not the authors refrain from arguing. They simply put forth these tendencies as inherent in industrialism, and unavoidable in a continuation of the system "unless counteracted by some potent force." (P. 35.)

The chapter on Education is worthy of consideration, for in it the authors attempt to expose pseudo-education and propagandistic-education for what they are. Education can be either one of two extremes—beneficent or pernicious—depending upon the freedom and truth of the instructor and the instruction. The sinister and baleful social destructiveness of bad education is scarcely realized, even by men like Wells and his type. The Russells' attempt in this direction is worthy of praise and emulation.

LILLIAN A. GARING.

WHY I TEACH.*

Because I would be young in soul and mind
Though years must pass and age my life constrain,
And I have found no way to lag behind
The fleeting years, save by the magic chain
That binds me, youthful, to the youth I love,
I teach.

Because I would be wise and wisdom find
From millions gone before whose torch I pass,
Still burning bright to light the paths that wind
So steep and rugged, for each lad and lass
Slow-climbing to the unrevealed above,
I teach.

Because in passing on the living flame
That ever brighter burns the ages through,
I have done service that is worth the name
Can I but say, "The flame of knowledge grew
A little brighter in the hands I taught,"
I teach.

Because I know that when life's end I reach
And thence pass through the gate so wide and deep
To what I do not know, save what men TEACH,
That the remembrance of me men will keep
Is what I've done; and what I have is naught,
I teach.

LOUIS BURTON WOODWARD.

*A statement of reasons for being a teacher in a school.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

Bulletin No. 1, Oct. 1-Mar 31.

In the six-months' period ending March 31, 1924, the National Federation of Religious Liberals has increased its activities in several respects:

1. District Conferences have been held in Junction City, Kan., Kansas City, Denver, Chicago, and Toledo. The speakers at these meetings were affiliated with ten religious fellowships, viz., Unitarian, Universalist, Jewish, Quaker, Congregationalist, Rationalist, Disciples, Lutheran, Ethical, and Baptist. In addition to these conferences, the chairman of the Executive Committee has presented the plans and claims of the Federation at Quincy, Hoopeston, Ill., Omaha, Des Moines, Memphis and New Orleans.

2. We have received memberships from five states and two Provinces of Canada which were not heretofore represented in our list of individual members. The individual membership of the Federation now represents 39 states and 5 provinces of Canada. The states not represented are Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Utah, Virginia, Wyoming. Members of the Federation would render a service by sending us the names and addresses of liberals in these states to whom the literature of the Federation could be mailed.

3. Contributions for the work of the Federation have been received from the following organizations:

American Unitarian Ass'n.
Central Conf. of Amer. Rabbis.
General Conf. of the Rel. Soc. of Friends.
Universalist General Convention.
Aroostook Ass'n of Rel. Liberals.
Maine Universalist Convention.
Southwestern Fed. of Rel. Liberals.
Student Fed. of Rel. Liberals.
People's Church, Chicago, Ill.
First Unit. Church, Seattle, Wash.
First Unit. Soc. of Iowa City.
Hoopeston Univ. Church (Ill.).
Woman's Alliance, Brooklyn, Mich.
Chicago Associate Alliance.
Woman's Alliance, Indianapolis.
Keokuk Junior Alliance.
Woman's Alliance, Madison, Wis.
Woman's Alliance, Milwaukee.
Ladies' Ind. Soc., Quincy, Ill.
Woman's Alliance, Topeka, Kansas.

4. In view of the fact that the financial campaign to put the Federation on a permanent basis has been carried on largely by correspondence, the following summary is encouraging:

Total cash received	$3,143.80
Total pledges receivable	5,179.40
	$8,323.20

5. The officers of Lincoln Centre, Chicago, have been most cordial and generous in their relationship to the Federation. Their friendship and interest have been attested not only by the granting of Headquarter space and by individual contributions, but also by personal encouragement and counsel. The Federation can hope for no greater success than to be the fulfillment of the work and dreams of Lincoln Centre.

6. A pamphlet on "The Unity of the Race" by Arthur L. Weatherly is on the press and will soon be sent to the members of the Federation. Additional copies for general distribution may be secured upon request by the members.

7. The Chicago meeting of the Federation was held at Lincoln Centre on the evening of Tuesday, April 8th. The general subject was "The Spirit of Youth in the Life of the Church." The program consisted of brief addresses by young ministers and Rabbis who are comparatively new in the life of Chicago.

8. The next National gathering of the Federation will be held in New York City the last week in October.

Respectfully submitted,
CURTIS W. REESE,
Chairman Executive Committee, Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago.

WORLD'S FIRST GOODWILL DAY MAY 18-19.

The World Federation of Education Associations asks the schools of all nations to observe May 18-19 as World Good Will Day. May 18 is the date of the opening of the first Hague Conference in 1899. The World Conference of Educators in San Francisco last summer set aside this day for universal observance in promoting international understanding and good will. Since May 18 comes on Sunday this year, Monday the 19 will be kept.

Czecho-Slovakia First To Observe It

Czecho-Slovakia has the honor of having been the initiator of this custom. President Masaryk, Educator and Statesman, perceived the need and chose the day which now is to be universalized.

"We desire to build a more wholesome patriotism for the people of each country," says Dr. Augustus O. Thomas, president of the great federation that sponsors the observance; "a patriotism based not upon hatred, revenge and jealousy, but upon love of country and pride in the achievements of our countrymen and race. . . . If the teachings of the Golden Rule are to become automatic, they must be given in childhood. . . . Children are unprejudiced and one of the great tasks of the teacher is to keep them so."

Women's Peace Parade, May 18

The Women's Council for Prevention of War, 515 Cleveland Discount Building, Cleveland, Ohio, of which Judge Florence E. Allen is Honorary Chairman, will hold a peace parade on International Good Will Day, Sunday, May 18. It had been originally intended for Easter Sunday. The Girl Scouts, the Girl Reserves and the Campfire Girls have been added to the membership of this Council.

A reviewing stand is to be built for the parade by Mayor Townes, and the City Manager and his Cabinet are invited to review the parade in front of City Hall.

Suggestions for Observing the Day

1. Display "Children from Many Lands" in schools, libraries and homes.

2. Give the pageant "Good Will, the Magician" or at least exercises with flags and costumes representing children from many lands.

3. Sing national and world songs that foster Good Will.

4. Have special reading on the Hague Conferences and other efforts to bring the world together and to substitute a better method than war for settling quarrels.

5. Honor our heroes of Good Will. See how many the children can name, those whose labors have strengthened the international bonds of friendship.

6. Write essays on these subjects.

Good Will Day Pageant Ready

A Pageant of children for children, and one which brings back the spirit of childhood to men and women who have not forgotten, has been written by Hazel MacKaye for International Good Will Day—or for any other day. It is called "Good Will, the Magician."

Through Good Will, the magical balloon man, who has been called in by the rulers of the earth to help them do away with war, children from ten countries are brought together to play and dance and sing together, and so to become fast friends. Flowers and flags and gay balloons give color and gaiety, and Good Will, a character as fascinating as the Pied Piper, gives a really spiritual message to the pageant, while the children give childhood, which is hope.

Adaptable to Your Needs

Printed copies of the pageant are now ready for distribution at ten cents each (12 copies for a dollar). Full directions are given in the appendix with suggestions for the adaptation of the pageant to indoor or outdoor performancces and to small or large groups. From fifty to five hundred children can present it, and it will require, according to the number of children taking part, from three-quarters of an hour to an hour and a half for presentation. The costumes can be as elaborate as possible, or as simple

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as it is necessary to make them. Only one adult character is required, Good Will, and this may well be filled by a high school boy.

Order Now

The pageant is based on the posters, "Children From Many Lands." It can be ordered from The National Child Welfare Association, 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y., or from The National Council for Prevention of War.

You should order now if your schools are to have it for May 19.

"In hearts too young for enmity
There lies the way to make men free;
When children's friendships are world-wide,
New ages will be glorified.
Let child love child, and strife will cease.
Disarm the hearts, for that is peace."

—*Ethel Blair Jordan.*

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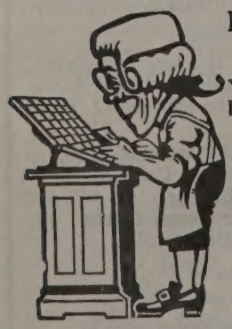
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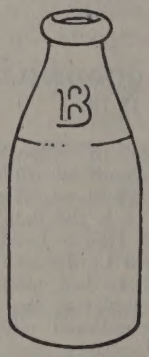
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